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Publications

The Upper Canada Gazette and Its Printers



The *Upper Canada Gazette* and its Printers, 1793-1849

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Edited by Elizabeth Hulse**



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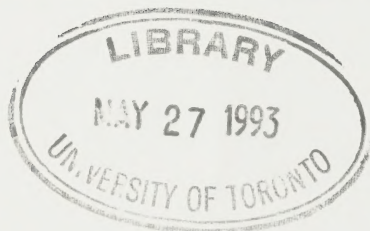
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Contents

Foreword	v
Introduction	vii
List of Illustrations	ix
The Beginnings	1
The Printers	3
Louis Roy	4
Gideon and Silvester Tiffany	7
Titus Geer Simons and William Waters	9
John Bennett	12
John Cameron	13
Robert Charles Home	15
Charles Fothergill	17
Robert Stanton	20
The Declining Years	22
Appendix I: Printers of the <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i>	23
Appendix II: Significant Dates in the History of the <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i>	25
Notes	27
Bibliography	31
Index	35



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Foreword

Recognizing the importance of having a government-sponsored newspaper to disseminate information to the inhabitants of the new province of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, first Lieutenant Governor of the province (1791-1796), persuaded Louis Roy, who had served an apprenticeship in a printer's shop in Quebec City, to move to Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake), the first capital, to act as the official government printer.

On Thursday, 18 April 1793, Roy printed and published Volume 1, Number 1, of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, the first newspaper in what is now the province of Ontario. The front page of this historic four-page folio consisted of the text of a speech by His Majesty King George III delivered to both Houses of Parliament on 13 December 1792 and a proclamation from His Excellency Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe "for the suppression of Vice, Profanements & Immorality" in the province of Upper Canada.

In its early days, the *Upper Canada Gazette* served a sparsely settled frontier region of the new province. Newark and York (now Toronto) were populated mainly by the government and military and their families. In the half-century of the *Gazette's* existence, its circulation increased as the population of Upper Canada grew rapidly and as muddy York became a thriving commercial and manufacturing town.

No complete file of the *Upper Canada Gazette* is known to exist, but the Legislative Library is fortunate to have what is probably the most complete set, including the first issue. Its holdings span the following periods: 1793 to 1809, 1822 to 1824, and 1826 to 1 May 1845. So far as is known, the *Gazette* was not published through most of the war years of 1813 and 1814, after American forces invaded Upper Canada, occupied the new capital of York, and damaged the printing press. The newspaper continued to be published to the mid-1840s - perhaps as late as 1849 - although no copies are extant after 1848. The Legislative Library was one of several organizations that made its holdings available to the Canadian Library Association for microfilming. The resulting microfilm set constitutes the most complete collection of the *Gazette*.

I commend the work of Brian Tobin, Manager of Collections Development, Legislative Library, for researching and documenting the role of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, a storehouse of information about early life in the province. Through its pages, readers can trace historic events such as the

The Upper Canada Gazette

abolition of slavery, the establishment of schools in all districts, the construction of the Welland and Rideau canals, and the founding of Bytown (now Ottawa), as well as other social and economic developments in the province's early years.

The publication of this monograph is especially timely, coming as it does two hundred years after the appearance of the first issue of the *Upper Canada Gazette* in April 1793. This publication is one of several issued by the Legislative Library to mark the Bicentennial of the first Parliament of Upper Canada on 17 September 1792 and the Centennial of the opening of the Legislative Building at Queen's Park on 4 April 1893.

Brian Land
Executive Director
Ontario Legislative Library
23 March 1993

Introduction

The *Upper Canada Gazette* provides those interested in the early history of what is now the province of Ontario with a unique source of information about its early political, social, and economic development. The purpose of this publication is to acquaint readers with the history of the *Gazette* and its place in the development of Upper Canada. As well, it provides brief profiles of eleven of the paper's printers and describes their relationship with their government employers.

Throughout the *Gazette's* publishing history, the administration exercised considerable editorial control over all aspects of the content. This degree of government control determined the choice of printers and led to conflict between the government and several of its printers. Although the government accepted and probably encouraged the inclusion of non-government information in the paper, the printer's primary responsibility was to ensure that government notices and proclamations were published.

Research for this project was both challenging and exhilarating: challenging because hard-copy holdings for the newspaper are incomplete, and frequently the paper quality was poor and the type worn and barely legible; exhilarating because curiosity and the opportunity to uncover information in the next page or issue provided strong incentives to continue the research.

No publication reaches completion without collaboration, and this work is no exception. I am grateful to Mary Dickerson, Deputy Executive Director, for her determination and perseverance to improve the text and guide it through revisions and refinements. I am indebted to Effie Kastris and Beverly Li for their skills in preparing the text for publication and for their uncanny ability to read my handwriting. I would also like to express my gratitude to Rob Leonard, Legislative Photographer, for photographing the illustrations in this publication. And lastly, my appreciation to Elizabeth Hulse for her remarkable editing skills and the benefit of her considerable knowledge of both the history and the newspapers of Upper Canada.

Brian Tobin
Collections Development
Ontario Legislative Library
23 March 1993

List of Illustrations

Front page of first issue of the <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> , 18 April 1793.	facing p. 4
Printing press probably used to print the <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> ; now at the Mackenzie Printery in Queenston. Photo by Denis Cahill.	facing p. 5
Notice announcing the establishment of a brewery and market for grain in Upper Canada, as it appeared in the <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> , 25 April 1793.	facing p. 6
Front page of <i>York Gazette</i> , 1 March 1809.	facing p. 14
Advertisements for various goods and services and coming attractions, <i>U.E. Loyalist</i> , 12 August 1826.	facing p. 15
Notice calling for tenders for the construction of a monument to General Isaac Brock, <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> , 27 November 1823.	facing p. 16
Charles Fothergill. Oil on canvas; attributed to Grove Sheldon Gilbert, c. 1833. Canadian Collection, Royal Ontario Museum. Gift of the Honourable Mr. Justice G.A. McGillivray.	facing p. 17
Notice calling for stockholders and contractors for the construction of the Welland Canal, <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> , 22 April 1824.	facing p. 18
Journals of the House of Assembly for 19 December 1823, <i>Weekly Register</i> , 8 January 1824.	facing p. 19
Proceedings of Parliament for 19 December 1826, <i>U.E. Loyalist</i> , 6 January 1827.	facing p. 20
Advertisement for steamboat service on Lake Ontario, <i>U.E. Loyalist</i> , 9 June 1827.	facing p. 21
Advertisement for stage service between York and Kingston, <i>Upper Canada Gazette</i> , 12 January 1828.	facing p. 22

Unless otherwise noted, all photographs by Rob Leonard, Legislative Photographer, from newspapers in the collection of the Legislative Library.

The Beginnings

The *Upper Canada Gazette*, the first newspaper printed in Upper Canada, was founded in 1793, less than two years after the province was created and less than a year after its first Lieutenant Governor, John Graves Simcoe, arrived there. That a newspaper was started so soon after the province established its Legislature and executive offices is a credit to Simcoe's political and administrative skills. While in England preparing for his first colonial post, he "had in his own mind settled the most minute details of the government of Upper Canada, and had written volumes to the Colonial Office stating the various requirements of the new command."¹

One of Simcoe's requirements was for a printer to be hired and a press set up in the province's new capital at Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake). He had, however, doubted that he would find a qualified person willing to relocate to the wilderness. In 1791 the population of Upper Canada was 14,000, excluding aboriginals,² and it was scattered along the shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie.

The Office of Printer seems to be of the utmost importance. It has been suggested to me that by annexing the Office of Post Master to that of Printer a sufficient Salary may be annexed to induce some person to expatriate ... But a printer is indispensably necessary; and tho' many may be found to rush into crowded cities, I see no likelihood that any Person will venture into a Wilderness and yet in the Infancy of this Establishment He will be found to be of the utmost Utility.³

Simcoe's intention was to set up an Office of the Printer, government supported and controlled. His commitment to a government printing office enabled his administration to make public laws, proclamations, notices, and other government business. Thus Upper Canada had printed records from its inception, and the *Upper Canada Gazette* is an important source of information for public documents and records.

The government used the *Gazette* as a means of keeping its citizens informed of its policies. For example, speeches of the Lieutenant Governor were often printed in it. But the *Gazette* contained more than official government business. Non-government material was also included, as well as foreign and domestic news, editorials, letters to the editor, and

The Upper Canada Gazette

advertisements. By including this non-official information the *Gazette* served a role as a community newspaper. For the modern reader the paper provides insight into the issues of the day, the political process, and the relationship between its printers and the administration on the one hand and the editors of the independent press on the other.

Simcoe was instrumental in establishing the *Upper Canada Gazette*, but he did not create its format. By 1793 newspapers had been long established in the Western world, and the printers of the *Gazette* followed the standards set by papers in Europe, the United States, and especially British North America as to format, style, and content. Virtually all seventeenth and eighteenth-century newspapers used the layout that had been established by the *London Gazette* in 1665. This was usually a two-column format, occasionally varied to three or four columns. Type was usually Roman and italic and type size was commonly pica (12-point), small pica (11-point), and bourgeois (9-point).

The *Halifax Gazette*, the first newspaper in what is now Canada, was founded in 1752. The *Quebec Gazette/La Gazette de Québec* began publication in 1764. By the 1790s there were also papers in Montreal, Saint John, and Charlottetown. Most were government controlled or at least recipients of government printing jobs and thus shared similarities in content. Prominence was given to official information, including laws passed, proclamations, notices of land sales, and speeches. International news was often included in government newspapers. In the *Upper Canada Gazette* it was referred to as "foreign intelligence" and was usually extracted from American (especially New York, Albany, and Philadelphia) or London papers and could be anywhere from one month to six months old. Early newspapers carried no bylines or headlines such as we are accustomed to today. The heading for an article often read "From a New York paper" or "We have extracted the following from a London paper."

In the early years of settlement, local news did not fill much space in the government newspapers, especially when communities had small populations and word of mouth was a more effective method of communicating local events. Notices from the public accepted for publication in the paper ranged from articles for sale to rewards for the return of strayed cows and fugitive slaves, threats against people who might be harbouring runaway wives, or petitions to the Legislature. The printers also included

advertisements from local merchants, and while these took up little space, they would have generated essential income for those printers who could not subsist solely on government printing jobs.

The Printers

The *Upper Canada Gazette* survived for more than fifty years, largely because of government support and despite the disadvantages of untrained or inexperienced printers and the fact that much of Upper Canada remained a hinterland for at least half of the paper's existence. Overall, the *Gazette* resembled contemporary newspapers, but upon closer inspection it is evident that not all its printers possessed the talent, training, and expertise of printers elsewhere. For example, illustrations first appeared in the *Upper Canada Gazette* in 1801. By contrast, the *Halifax Gazette* had been using illustrations since its founding in 1752. Of the eleven individuals hired by the government to operate its printing office between 1793 and 1844, several had not been trained as printers. Titus Geer Simons was a soldier, John Cameron a merchant, and Robert Home an army surgeon and later a banker; Robert Stanton had held various civil appointments, including magistrate. Clearly, trained foremen on whom they could rely to do the actual typesetting and printing were hard to find. Louis Roy and John Bennett, both of whom had received training in the office of the *Quebec Gazette*, Charles Fothergill, who had long had literary interests, and Richard Watson were the best qualified to fill the position of government printer, and their expertise is evident in the papers they issued.

If expertise was not always a requisite for the position of government printer, support of the government was. The political opinions of the printers were often pitted against government policy and were the cause for dismissal, rather than a lack of qualifications. Non-government information might be included in the *Gazette* so long as it was not as prominent as government business and was favourable, or at least impartial to the government and the Crown. Anti-government sentiment usually resulted in the printer's dismissal. All but four printers were dismissed or resigned because of conflicts over the content of the *Gazette*. Only Louis Roy, who resigned to return to Lower Canada, and John Cameron and Richard Watson, who both died in office, seem to have had a harmonious relationship with the government for the length of their tenure.

Louis Roy

Lieutenant Governor Simcoe arrived from England in the fall of 1791 and spent the winter and spring of 1792 in Lower Canada. While there, probably in the Montreal printing office of Fleury Mesplet, he met Louis Roy and subsequently appointed him the first government printer for Upper Canada. Roy had been apprenticed to William Brown, proprietor of the *Quebec Gazette*, whose shop, later owned by Samuel Neilson, handled both commercial and government contracts. Roy travelled to Upper Canada in the fall of 1792 but did not begin printing the *Gazette* until the following spring. As government printer, he was required to publish the official weekly newspaper, which would include notices, proclamations, and speeches, as instructed by various government officials.⁴ He was also responsible for printing the statutes and any proclamations, speeches, and other documents that were separately issued.

Roy's first order to England was for

40 reams of crown paper; 80 reams of demy; 20 reams of foolscap; 20 reams of printing post; 6 reams of 4th gilt post; 3 reams of wrapping post; 1 ledger and day book; 2 barrels of ink.⁵

Shortly after, a second order was sent for

6 bundles of printing demy; 8 reams of printing crown; 10 reams of printing post; 8 reams of folio foolscap, plain; 9 reams of quarto post, plain; 4 reams of quarto post, gilt; and 6 reams of quarto post, black edge.⁶

Roy also ordered a large shipment of type, consisting of a "varied assortment of type suitable for headings and title-pages ... [as well as] a series of type faces, both in Roman and Italic, comprising Brevier, Long Primer, Small Pica, Pica, Great Primer, and Double Pica."⁷

The supply of type was less of a problem than paper for the printers of the *Gazette*. Although it had to be imported, type could be reused and had to be replaced only after it became worn. (There would be no local supplier of type until the 1850s, when the Montreal Type Foundry opened an office in Toronto.⁸)



UPPER CANADA GAZETTE, OR AMERICAN ORACLE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 18, 1793.

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE. PROCLAMATION

For the suppression of Vice, Profaneness & Immorality.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, Esquire,
Lieutenant Governor & Colonel Commanding the Majesty's
Forces, in the Province of Upper Canada.



WHEREAS it is the duty of all People, and more especially of all Christian Nations, to preserve and advance the Honour and Service of Majesty's Person, and to discourage and suppress all Vice, Profaneness and Immorality, which if not timely prevented may justly be considered as a direct and open injury to the Honour and Interest of the Majesty's Person, and to the Honour and Interest of the Province of Upper Canada, and to the Honour and Interest of the Majesty's Subjects, given countenance to the breaking of all Laws made against Blasphemy, Fornication, Adultery, Fornication, Voluptuousness, and the breaking of the Lords Day, Swearing and Drunkenness, to be put in Execution in every part of the Province, and therefore direct, require and command the Peace Officers, and Constables of the several Towns and Townships, to make presentment upon Oath, of any of the Vice, before mentioned, to the Justices of the Peace in their Session, or to any of the other temporal Courts: And for the more effectual proceeding herein, all Judges, Justices and Magistrates and all other officers concerned for putting the Laws against Crimes and Offences into execution, are directed and commanded to exert themselves, for the due prosecution and punishment of all persons, who shall presume to offend in any of the kinds aforesaid; and also of all persons that, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the said Laws in execution. And I do further charge and command, that this Proclamation be publicly read in all Courts of Justice, on the first day of every Session to be held in the course of the present year, and more especially in such of His Majesty's Courts, as have the Cognizance of Crimes and Offences; recommending the same to all Christian Ministers of every denomination, to cause the same Proclamation to be read four times in the said year, immediately after Divine Service, in all places of Public Worship, and that they do their utmost Endeavour, to incite their respective Auditors to the practice of Piety and Virtue, and the avoiding of every course, contrary to the pure Morality of the Religion of the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms at the Government House, NAVY HALL, the Eleventh day of April, in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven Hundred and Ninety-three, and in the Thirty-third Year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command,
Wm. JARVIS, Secretary.

J. G. S.

THE KING'S SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. December 13, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia of this Kingdom, I have in pursuance of the provisions of the Law, called you together within the time limited for that purpose, it is on every account, a great Satisfaction to me to meet you in Parliament at this conjuncture. I should have been happy if I could have announced to you the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which my Subjects have derived from a state of tranquility; but evils have recently occurred which require our united vigilance and exertion in order to preserve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

The licentious practices which have been in a great measure checked by your firm and explicit declaration in the last Session, and by the general concurrence of my people in the same sentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has thrown itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the Civil Magistrate. The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts and in different parts of the Kingdom has appeared to proceed from a design to contemplate the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and this design has evidently been pursued in connection, and concert with persons in foreign countries.

I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the Steps General (who have observed the said neutrality with myself) measures which are neither conformable to the Law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances I have felt it my indispensible duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which I am entrusted by Law; and I have also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of my naval and military force, being persuaded that these exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquility, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object, confident with the security of my Kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by interest and honour to fulfil.



Printing press probably used to print the *Upper Canada Gazette*.

The first press used to print the *Upper Canada Gazette* was a wooden screw press. It was purchased second-hand by Simcoe from Samuel Neilson in Quebec City. This English-made common press was the type in use in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[It] called for the inking of the type-form by hand, the setting of the sheet of paper on the form, the lowering of the tympan, the turning of a crank to bring the form under the platen for the impression, and the pulling of a lever to exert the necessary pressure. The process sounds awkward and cumbersome and tedious, as indeed it was; though a journeyman printer and an apprentice working together could obtain as many as from forty to fifty impressions an hour.⁹

The press would be used by the printers of the *Upper Canada Gazette* until 1813, when it was severely damaged following the capture of York by American forces during the War of 1812.

The first issue of the *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle* appeared on 18 April 1793. It was a four-page folio, had a two-column layout, and measured nine by fourteen inches. The masthead carried the seal of Upper Canada and the royal motto "Dieu et Mon Droit." As might be expected, the front page of the first issue gave prominence to Simcoe's proclamation. Almost half of the issue was devoted to "foreign intelligence" and, not surprisingly, very little attention given to local news. About half a page was taken up with advertisements and notices, including an announcement to all cultivators of barley that a ready market for their grain would be ensured through the construction of a brewery later in the summer.

The Lieutenant Governor's proclamation in the inaugural issue was a strong statement about the laws

made against Blasphemy, Profaneness, Adultery, Fornication, Polygamy, Incest, Profanation of the Lords Day, Swearing and Drunkenness, to be strictly put in Execution in every part of the Province.¹⁰

Roy's introduction of his newspaper to the public was assigned to the back page and is reproduced below as it originally appeared.

The Editor of this News Paper, respectfully informs the Public, that the flattering prospect which he has of an extensive sale for his new undertaking, has enabled him to augment the size originally proposed from a Demy Quarto to a Folio.

The encouragement he has met, will call forth every exertion he is master of, so as to render the paper useful entertaining and instructive, he will be very happy in being favoured with such communications as may contribute to the information of the public, from those who shall be disposed to assist him, and in particular shall be highly flattered in becoming the Vehicle of Intelligence in this growing Province, of whatever may tend to its internal benefit and common advantage. In order to preserve the Veracity of his paper, which will be the first object of his attention, it will be requisite that all transactions of a domestic nature, such as Deaths, Marriages, &c. be communicated under real signatures.¹¹

The *Upper Canada Gazette* sold for three dollars per annum in 1793.* It is not certain what the circulation was in the early days, but a notice in the 19 July 1794 issue requested that subscriptions be paid up and asked that payment be made to local agents situated in Newark, York, Kingston, and Detroit, an indication that the newspaper received fairly wide distribution throughout the province.

* The decimal system of currency (dollars and cents) was not adopted as official in what is now Ontario until 1858. Until then a mixture of dollars and pounds was in use. To further complicate matters, different regions of British North America used local standards, so that there was Halifax currency, Quebec currency, and York currency, as well as pounds sterling. Throughout the *Upper Canada Gazette* there are references to all these currencies. For example, it was common for the paper to quote subscription rates in dollars and advertising rates in shillings, while payments for services might be made in York, Quebec, or Halifax currency.

According to A.B. McCullough in *Money and Exchange in Canada to 1900* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1984), the British government valued the dollar at four shillings and six pence prior to 1825 and at four shillings and four pence after 1825. See also the chapter "Currency and Banking, 1760-1841" in *Canada and its Provinces*, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914), vol. 4.

NOTICE is hereby given, that there will be a
BREWERY erected here this Summer under
the SANCTION of HIS EXCELLENCY the
Lieutenant Governor, and encouraged by some of the
principal Gentlemen in this place, and whoever will sow
Barley and cultivate their Land so that it will produce
grain of a good quality, they may be certain of a Market
in the fall at one DOLLAR a Bushel on delivery.

J O H N H E W I T T.

NIAGARA, 18th. April, 1793.

Notice announcing the establishment of a brewery and local market for grain,
Upper Canada Gazette, 25 April 1793.

Roy left the *Upper Canada Gazette* and the province in late 1794. The following year he launched the bilingual *Montreal Gazette/La Gazette de Montréal*. His tenure as Upper Canada's printer had been brief, but his contribution to the *Upper Canada Gazette* should not be underestimated. Simcoe was fortunate to have had a printer with his qualifications. Roy's knowledge and skills enabled him to establish, on the frontier, a newspaper that was similar in style and appearance to those in more established areas of North America.

Gideon and Silvester Tiffany

Louis Roy was replaced by Gideon Tiffany in 1794. Gideon was joined later by his brother Silvester, who was appointed assistant printer in 1796. Both were trained craftsmen who had learned the printing trade in their native United States. Born in 1759, Silvester apparently began his training in 1777. By 1791 he had his own printing shop in Lansingburgh (Troy), New York.¹² Gideon, born in 1774, joined his brother there after completing his education in New Hampshire.¹³

The Tiffanys made dramatic changes to the *Upper Canada Gazette* in both layout and content. In the summer of 1795 Gideon began using a three-column format, and increased the use of italics and small type. The smaller type allowed him more space for content, but it also made the paper more cluttered in appearance and difficult to read.

Under the Tiffanys the paper contained a greater amount of American news, much of it on the front page. Government proclamations, often in fine print, were relegated to the back pages with the local news. Occasionally, Gideon printed his own advertisements on the front page. For example, on 2 November 1796 he used a front-page column to list books he had received and which were for sale at the printing office.

When there was not enough American news or if "foreign intelligence" had not been received, Tiffany printed literary material. Poetry and anecdotes appeared as early as 5 October 1796. Although they were usually not signed, the paper from which they were extracted was often noted. Beginning on 26 October that year and running for several weeks was a feature essay signed by "The Lay Preacher," which contained thoughts of the

day on proper moral behaviour. In the same October issue was an article on "Subjects for the Consideration of Ladies, Delicacy and Bashfulness."

On 14 December 1796 Tiffany published the first letter to the editor, signed by Trim Sharp of 40 Mile Creek (now Grimsby), commenting on the state of roads in the colony.

People have long complained of the roads in this province; strangers, in particular, who come from places in the world where roads are considered as convenient to interest and pleasure, have not hesitated to declare them the worst in the world.

Tiffany had Simcoe's permission to print news and extracts from other newspapers, but the Lieutenant Governor expressed "concern with the political content of Gideon Tiffany's *Gazette*"¹⁴ and expected his printer to be loyal and support the British government. In 1795 Simcoe's secretary, E.B. Littlehales, had written to Gideon,

The Lieutenant Governor wishing the *Upper Canada Gazette* to improve by degrees and to establish a character, is desirous that this character should be founded in its truth. He therefore as I believe, he personally told you that you might print all news, provided you gave the authority of the paper from whence it was taken, can have no objection to your continuing to do so. Of course your own good sense and discretion in a variety of intelligence would induce you to prefer that, if it appears to be true, which is most favourable to the British Government. You may depend upon it that while you act uprightly and industriously, you will meet with His Excellency's support.¹⁵

This directive appears to have been ignored by the Tiffanys. They continued to print the *Upper Canada Gazette* as though it was a free and independent paper over which they had complete editorial control. Simcoe seems to have been willing to allow the inclusion of non-government news in the paper but was determined not to hand over complete editorial control to his printers. The Tiffanys, however, were not only printers, they were also journalists. Simcoe's interest in the newspaper was as a means of publicizing government business; the Tiffanys were more concerned with reporting news. The differences were never resolved.

No amount of government support could ensure delivery of supplies. Shipments from England or the United States were not always reliable, occasionally being disrupted by shipwreck or war, and importing from the United States was viewed as anti-British. Gideon Tiffany was severely reprimanded by Littlehales for procuring paper from New York State. In a letter dated 15 February 1796, Littlehales wrote to Tiffany,

His Excellency is much surprised in seeing an advertisement in the late *Gazette* you published respecting the scarcity of paper in Albany. I am therefore to signify to you, that in future, you must procure paper from Montreal, as you will not be permitted to get it from the United States.¹⁶

Despite criticism from Simcoe's administration, Gideon Tiffany continued as government printer until 1797, when he was disqualified from public office by a court conviction.¹⁷ Silvester remained as assistant printer until 1798. Following their departure from the *Gazette* office, the Tiffanys founded Upper Canada's first independent newspaper, the *Canada Constellation*, on 19 July 1799. It lasted about a year ceasing some time in 1800. In 1801 Silvester founded another weekly, the *Niagara Herald*. It too was short-lived; the last issue appeared on 28 August 1802.

Titus Geer Simons and William Waters

Simcoe left Upper Canada in 1796. His successor, Peter Hunter, did not arrive until 1799. In the interim the administration of the province was handled by Peter Russell, president of the Executive Council. After Gideon Tiffany left office, the Council took steps to ensure that the *Upper Canada Gazette* was first and foremost a government newspaper. Its first move was to appoint Titus Geer Simons as Tiffany's replacement. Simons was a former soldier with no printing experience. After Tiffany's tenure, however, the administration was more concerned to have a printer loyal to the government than with its appointee's qualifications. Simons was the son of a Loyalist, while the Tiffanys were recent immigrants from the United States. In addition to the appointment of a "safe" individual as printer, the Executive Council exercised more direct control over how government information was presented in the *Gazette*. At its meeting on 25 April 1798, the Council resolved "That he [Simons] print in the first page of this paper all

proclamations and also whatever issues from the Lieutenant Governor's Office."¹⁸

Despite his lack of experience, Simons appeared determined to enhance the content of the *Gazette*. In the introductory column of his first issue on 20 September 1797, he asked for the continued support of the subscribers and expressed the desire to make the *Gazette* more useful and interesting. He hoped that this would be possible because the establishment of postal service between York and the United States' garrison at Fort Niagara would give him greater access to foreign, primarily American, newspapers and those from eastern British North America. The postal service

opens a correspondence with every part of the United States, and the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick &c. and will be a continued source of new and interesting intelligence. To improve the important advantage to the rendering the Gazette useful, will be his particular attention.

The postal service provided the *Gazette* with another public function. Since the post master was required only to receive letters but not to ensure their delivery, Simons used the *Gazette* to print the names of those for whom mail was being held. To accommodate the subscribers, he changed the publication date of the *Gazette* from Wednesday to Saturday so as to include notice of mail delivered from the United States, which arrived each Thursday.

Simons's organization of the content of the *Gazette* gave it a less cluttered appearance than it had had under Tiffany. With the first page reserved for government affairs, he devoted the second and third pages to foreign news and extracts from other newspapers, which were useful, according to him, because they "served to exhilarate the spirits, inform the understanding, reform the manners, or mend the heart; which though it be no news is highly preferable to bad news."¹⁹ Advertisements and local news appeared on the back page. Very little local news was printed since word-of-mouth communication was still more timely than a weekly newspaper. However, in a letter printed in the *Gazette* on 15 February 1800 a reader felt there was a need for birth, marriage, and death notices:

These are to us [the rural population] of far more importance than affairs of state, or the history of war; they are matters that come home to our business and bosoms.

There continued to be concern among the Executive Council that too much American news appeared in the *Gazette*. John Elmsley, the Chief Justice, felt that the Tiffanys exerted too much influence over Simons.

Pray is there no possibility of having another Printer? for tho' Simons's name is used, the Tiffany's are the real managers. The King's Speech was after some time inserted: & the address of both houses, as that of the Lords; but the King's answer, the finest thing in Modern History, & which ought to be circulated in all his Dominions, & got by heart by all his Subjects, has never made its appearance; while every trifle relating to the damn'd States is printed in large character.²⁰

Elmsley's concern might have been justified. Gideon Tiffany, while no longer associated with the paper, lived in Newark (now called Niagara), and his brother Silvester was still Simons's assistant. Lending support to Elmsley's accusation is the fact that the Legislature had relocated from Niagara to York in 1796, but the *Gazette* continued to be printed at Niagara. At an arm's length from the seat of government, the Tiffanys could have exercised considerable influence over the loyal, but inexperienced Simons.

Elmsley's concern was resolved in 1798 when William Waters was appointed co-printer with Simons, replacing Silvester Tiffany. Later that year the *Gazette* office moved to York. The new partnership, under the style "Wm. Waters and T.G. Simons," continued until 1801. From all appearances it was an amicable union. In 1799 Peter Hunter was installed as the new Lieutenant Governor, and before the end of the year, Waters and Simons were the first printers in Upper Canada officially to carry the title "Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," bestowed by proclamation on 24 September.²¹ Towards the end of their tenure, they wrote in a notice "To the Public," which was printed in every issue throughout January 1801, that they had worked hard at their objective of expanding the paper.

During the past year they [Waters and Simons] have considerably increased the dimensions of their paper, and, not satisfied with adding to the bulk, have contrived to render the columns still more capacious, by printing a proportion (occasionally) of the occurrences of the week in a small type. Therefore, the Friends and Patrons of the *Gazette*, will find a very material augmentation of size and contents, without any augmentation of price.

John Bennett

By the middle of 1801, Waters and Simons had been dismissed for reporting that William Allan, a prominent financial figure and a holder of several public offices, would be a candidate in the election of 1800. The report was false, and Allan was so incensed that he used his considerable influence to have the printers dismissed.²² They were replaced by John Bennett, who brought excellent credentials, having trained in Samuel Neilson's shop, where Louis Roy had apprenticed.

Bennett's issues of the *Upper Canada Gazette* continued to combine government edicts with essays, poems, and miscellaneous items. As his predecessors had done, Bennett sought to make the paper interesting and of high calibre. His introductory column on 28 July 1801 explains,

The Oracle [*Upper Canada Gazette*] will comprehend all domestic intelligence, as also such productions as may conduce to improve the mind without injuring the morals; but licentious writings and personal invective will be carefully avoided and constantly rejected.

A small department of the Paper will also be allotted to useful and entertaining Miscellany and the most esteemed production of the muses.

The House of Assembly was prorogued in March 1804, and that spring Bennett carried notices for election candidates in the *Gazette*. On 12 May, for example, letters addressed to the "Free and Independent Electors" of Durham, Simcoe, and the East Riding of York, signed by candidates Angus MacDonell and William Weekes, appeared in the paper. Issues from the time of the previous election in 1800 do not survive, and these notices in 1804 are the earliest known examples of campaign literature in the *Gazette*, though Waters and Simons had earlier printed notices for candidates in the form of broadsides. On 19 May Bennett published the locations and dates for the elections to be held 11 and 18 June, and the election results appeared in the paper on 4 August 1804.

Bennett enjoyed a lengthy stay as "Printer to the King," from July 1801 until he relinquished his duties in March 1807, as a result of a salary dispute with the government. (It is not clear whether he was fired or

resigned.) His accomplishments, in addition to the weekly *Gazette*, had included a volume of statutes, published in 1804, containing all the laws passed in Upper Canada since 1792, as well as the British statutes governing the colony, the first such collection produced in Upper Canada.

John Cameron

Bennett was succeeded by John Cameron, a merchant. Two months after Bennett left, he returned to the *Gazette* office and continued as printer with Cameron for another year.²³ No explanation was given in the paper, but it is suspected that Cameron needed Bennett's printing expertise.²⁴ Cameron's first edition of 15 April 1807 appeared with some significant differences. The name of the paper was changed to the *York Gazette*. The new name was not explained in the paper which had been printed in York since 1798. The second change was from a three to a four-column layout, which easily fit onto the larger ten by sixteen inch paper Bennett had begun using in 1806.

Cameron's choice of content for the *York Gazette* throughout 1806 and 1807 reflects prosperous, peaceful times for the growing colony of Upper Canada. The 9 May 1806 issue listed the public school trustees for all the districts, and the issue of 23 May announced the appointment of George Okill Stuart as teacher of the district school in the town of York, to open the first of June. Also in the 9 May issue was an excerpt "From the 11th no. of Bell's monthly publications of la Belle Assemblée" describing London fashions for women. A report from Niagara on 13 June 1807 recounts the splendour of a ball held in celebration of the King's birthday:

about 50 couple [*sic*] of spirited dancers occupied the floor till one o'clock, when they retired into the Supper Room, where a most sumptuous Entertainment served up with true English elegance was provided. Everything rare and good was found on the hospitable Board ...

On the whole, the Birth Day was celebrated with a splendour and magnificence hitherto unknown in this country.

An article in the 25 July 1807 issue comments on the lack of crime. That the "House of Correction has remained so long unoccupied by, either Misfortune, or Irregularity [is a source of] pride for the Home District."

Still, "Letitia," the writer of a letter that appeared in the same issue, had something to complain about.

Amongst the subjects requiring Legislative interference in this country, I see none at this moment which demands it more seriously than the number of Bachelors with which the province is infested.

The irritated correspondent goes on to argue that bachelors should be taxed and made to wear a "distinguishing badge." In his reply, Cameron, perhaps tongue in cheek, pointed out that there was an abundance of female beauty in the province and that "if fining was insufficient, imprisonment might be added."

The prosperity of the period is also marked by the increase in advertisements for dry goods merchants, hat manufacturers, mills on the Humber River, a newly opened "beef-steak & beer house," a tailoring business, a blacksmith and farrier's, and a watch and clock business. As might be expected, the advertising tells us more about the commercial development of York than it does about the rest of the province. Despite a large circulation area, most advertisements were for goods and services in the capital. The *Gazette* would be the only newspaper in York until 1820, but as newspapers were founded in other localities in the province, beginning at Niagara in 1799, merchants who advertised increasingly chose papers closer to where their customers were located.

From late 1807 until the middle of 1808 shipments from England were disrupted by the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. The *Gazette* was printed on inferior, coarse paper, and shortage of paper forced Cameron to issue a *Gazette* of smaller dimensions. By the end of 1807, as tensions mounted in Europe, he devoted more space to extracts from foreign newspapers. When British North America and the United States became involved in war in 1812, the *Gazette* continued to keep its readers informed with extracts and reports from Canadian and American sources. For the years preceding the War of 1812, the *Gazette* is an important source of information on the events that led



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R.

VOL. XVIII.

NUMBER 41.

THE YORK GAZETTE.

TOTAL NUMBER 882.]

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1809.

FOUR DOLLARS PER ANN.]

PROCLAMATION FOR PARDONING DESERTERS

His Majesty's Regular Land Forces.

WAR OFFICE, August, 25, 1808.

WHEREAS it has been repented to THE KING, That there are at this Time several DESERTERS from the different REGULAR CORPS in HIS MAJESTY'S LAND SERVICE, who might be induced to return to their Duty by an Offer of His Majesty's GRACIOUS PARDON, and that such an Influence of His Royal Clemency would have a due Influence upon their future Behaviour; His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant His FREE PARDON to all DESERTERS from His REGULAR LAND FORCES, who shall surrender themselves, on or before the Twenty-fourth of OCTOBER, to the Commanding Officer of any Regiment, or to any of the Superintending Field Officers of the Recruiting Service, whose Stations are mentioned in the Margin hereto, or to the Commandant of the Army Depot in the Isle of Wight.

Such Deserters, if Able bodied Men and fit for Service, shall be sent to the Regiments from which they respectively deserted, or be appointed to such Regiments in the United Kingdom as His Majesty may be pleased to command; and, when so placed, shall not be liable to be claimed by any other Corps to which they may formerly have belonged.

AND WHEREAS many of the said Deserters may have enlisted in other Regular Corps, and are now serving therein, His Majesty is graciously pleased to extend to such Deserters the Benefit of this Pardon; and to direct that they shall continue to serve in the Corps wherein they now are, upon declaring themselves to their respective Commanding Officers, on or before the Twenty-fourth of OCTOBER next, & they shall not be liable at any future Time, to be claimed by the Regiments in which they formerly served.

The Magistrate to whom any Deserter from His Majesty's Regular Forces may surrender himself, is authorized and required to certify the Day on which such Deserter surrendered himself, which Certificate is to continue in Force until the Arrival of the Deserter at the Head Quarters of the nearest Military Post, provided he proceed at the Rate of Ten Miles a Day, unless prevented by Sickness, to be certified by some Medical Practitioner on the Back of the Magistrate's Certificate, or to be otherwise proved to the Satisfaction of the Officer Commanding at such Military Post.

And with a View to prevent as far as possible all Soldiers from Desertion, after these His Majesty's most gracious Intentions shall be made known, His Majesty has been pleased to command, that the Name of every Soldier who may hereafter desert, shall be transmitted through the Secretary at War to the Church Wardens of the Parishes, to which the Deserters belong; in order that their Names may be exposed to public View in the Church, or such other conspicuous Place, as may render it impossible for Men, who have been guilty of this Crime, to return home to their friends, on whom they have brought disgrace by their Misconduct, without immediate Detection; and His Majesty has further commanded, that this Measure shall be made public, that every Soldier may be assured, that the greatest Exertions will be used for the Apprehension of any Man who may hereafter desert, and that those who have already been guilty of that Crime, may be aware of the daily Risk they incur of Detection, and of the most severe Punishment, if they do not immediately avail themselves of the Pardon held out in this His Majesty's most gracious Proclamation.

Any Soldier who may desert after these His Majesty's gracious Intentions are made Public, shall not be included in the above Pardon, but be proceeded against with the utmost Severity.

It is to be clearly understood, That this Proclamation of Pardon is intended to include all Deserters from the Army of Reserve and Additional Force Act, but

not to extend to any Deserter from His Majesty's Militia Forces.

By His Majesty's Command,
JAS. PULTENEY.

THE COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES in the BRITISH PROVINCES of NORTH AMERICA, having received an Official Copy of the above PROCLAMATION issued by His Majesty's Orders in England and desirous of affording to all Deserters the opportunity of availing themselves of His Majesty's gracious offer of Pardon, is pleased thus to make the same public, and to extend the term to which it is limited with respect to the PROVINCES of UPPER and LOWER CANADA to 24th DECEMBER next ensuing, and with respect to such persons as are desirous of atoning for their past misconduct who may come in from beyond the limits of these Provinces, to 24th FEBRUARY, that will be in the year 1809. Deserters are to surrender themselves to any Field Officer or to any other Officer commanding any Detachment or Military Post in either of the aforesaid Provinces, or to any Magistrate near whom they may be; such Magistrate being desired to furnish them with a Certificate of the date of such surrender, which Certificate will be in force in the same manner and under the same limitations as directed in His Majesty's Proclamation.

GIVEN AT HEAD QUARTERS,
Quebec, 7th November, 1808.
J. H. CRAIG,
General.

By His EXCELLENCY'S COMMAND,
ED. BAYNES,
Adjutant General.

York, Upper Canada, 15th Feby. 1809.

His Excellency the COMMANDER OF THE FORCES has been pleased so signifi-ly to the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR of this PROVINCE, that the Time for Deserters surrendering themselves in the PROVINCE of UPPER CANADA, is extended from the 24th of FEBRUARY, to the 24th of APRIL next ensuing.

FRANCIS GORE, Lieut. Govr.

SUN FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

SEVERAL persons Insured in this Office, having expressed an anxiety to be re-insured. The Board of Directors have instructed me to effect the same, on all risks, and it is accordingly done at Institutions of the highest standing.

P. W. ENGS, *President.*

PORT HOPE NAIL MANUFACTORY. J. BROWN

BEGB leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has commenced *Manufacturing Nails* of every description, of a superior quality, which he will sell for cash or approved bills, as low as they can be obtained at any Manufactory in the United States.

Port Hope, July 15, 1826. 7-tf.

GOODS JUST RECEIVED.

WILLIAM MOORE,

BEGB leave to return his thanks to his friends and the public generally, for the liberal support he has received from them—and informs them that he has just received, direct from London and Liverpool, and offers for sale, at Montreal prices, the following Goods:—

50 JARS of Raw and Boiled Linseed Oil—40 Casks of Nails and Chains—30 ! Kegs London Ground and Dry White Lead—Red Lead—Gunpowder, Cannister, S. H. Davy—Bath Bricks—Dye Woods—Chalk and Whiting—Black Lead—Sweet Oil—Windsor Soap—Chinese and Patent Green Paint—Ochre—1 Pipe of fine Old Port—Choice Vintage—Durham Mustard—and a general assortment of Patent Drugs & Medicines.

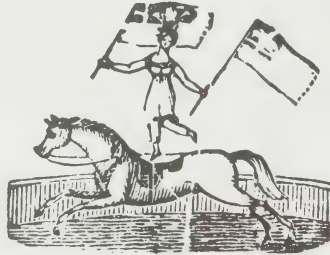
York, August 4, 1826. 10—tf

TO BE SOLD OR LET.

THE House and Lot lately occupied by Grant Powell, Esq. on the South side of Duke Street, near the new Bank—For terms apply to.

W. ALLAN.

August 3, 1829, 10—8



ROYAL CIRCUS.

Change of Performance.

THIS Evening, August 12, will be brought forward for the first time in York, A **NEW GRAND ENTREE**, in which all the Horses will be introduced.

METAMORPHOSE of the **SACK**, on two Horses, or, *The Clown Deceived by a Woman*, by Mr. Blanchard, and conclude with *The Fricassee Dance*.

HORSEMANSHIP, by Master Leslie, the undaunted youth, who will introduce a number of surprising Feats, never attempted by any person of his age, being only ten years old, in which he will go through the Stirrup Trick.

FLYING VAULTING, by the whole troop of Flying Vaulters. Riding Master, Mr. G. Blanchard—Clown Mr. W. Jones.

MILLER'S FROLIC,

Or, My Grandmothers Return from Mill.

Grainmasher,	-	-	Mr. G. Blanchard.
Gaffer Grist, the Miller	-	-	" Atkins.
Clown,	-	-	" W. Jones.
Miller's Boys,	-	-	By the rest of the Company.

HORSEMANSHIP, by Mr. T. Jones, his first appearance, who will go through many extraordinary feats over whips, garters, &c. &c.

The laughable feat of *The Clown and Butterfly*, by Mr. W. Jones.

The whole to conclude with T. Jones'

up to it, and once hostilities broke on the continent, it regularly reported on government policy regarding the war and on the outcome of battles. Unfortunately, the *Gazette* was silenced in 1813. During the American occupation of York, the printing press was extensively damaged, and the paper was suspended until late 1814.

Robert Charles Horne

Cameron died in November 1815 and was replaced by his assistant, Edward W. McBride, who printed the paper for a few months. In 1817 Dr. Robert Charles Horne, an army surgeon who had served in the War of 1812, became King's Printer. One of his first acts was to change the name of the newspaper from the *York Gazette* back to the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Horne's four-year tenure as government printer was marked by two controversies that resulted in his being called before the Bar of the House of Assembly. Neither incident improved his relationship with Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant Governor.

The first incident revolved around the question of authorship. In the *Gazette* of 18 March 1819, Horne printed an advertisement for the *Statutes of Upper Canada*, which he stated he had authored. The House took exception to his claim of authorship, though there is little doubt that he had the authority to print the *Statutes*. On 21 March Horne was summoned to the Bar to face a breach of privileges charge. He was required to acknowledge that he had committed the offence and to apologize.²⁵

Horne's second controversy involved the reporting of the proceedings of the House of Assembly. Upper Canada had been committed since 1792 to making public its laws, proclamations, and notices, but it was only in 1820 that the province decided to report the proceedings of the House of Assembly. By comparison, in Great Britain William Cobbett began reporting parliamentary debates in 1803, and the United States started reporting the debates of the Senate and House in 1807. John Carey and later Francis Collins were hired by the House of Assembly to report its proceedings,²⁶ which were then printed in the *Upper Canada Gazette* and other newspapers in York, Kingston, and elsewhere in the province. Despite official sanction, parliamentary reporting was not always unbiased. Neither Carey nor Collins were government supporters, and their reform views were often reflected in

their reports. In February 1821 Horne was ordered before the Bar of the House a second time to answer questions relating to reports of the debates printed in the *Upper Canada Gazette*, which were said to contain "a gross misrepresentation of the proceedings of the House" and to constitute "a breach of its privileges."²⁷ Although, as Horne pointed out to the House, Collins had been responsible for the reports, as printer he himself was accountable for their accuracy. He apologized, was ordered to print a retraction of the reports, and was able to retain his position.²⁸

Following this incident, Sir Peregrine Maitland ordered Horne not to print the debates in the *Upper Canada Gazette*.²⁹ However, Horne seems to have been committed to publishing them, and he continued to do so by issuing a second section of the *Upper Canada Gazette* called the *York Weekly Post*. The first issue of the *Post* was dated 22 February 1821. From then on, Horne printed all government notices, proclamations, and other official business in the *Upper Canada Gazette* and included non-government material, including the debates, in the *York Weekly Post*.

The price of the *Gazette* had increased to four dollars in 1798, and by 1820 Horne was charging an additional half-dollar for delivery by post. The price in 1826 would be twenty shillings per annum. (It was reduced to fifteen shillings in 1829, possibly because the *Loyalist* section of the *Gazette*, which contained the non-government information, was discontinued.) These rates resemble those charged by other newspapers of the era. The *Quebec Gazette* sold for three dollars per annum in 1764 and four dollars in 1800. The first independent paper in Upper Canada, the *Canada Constellation*, established in 1799, sold for four dollars a year. Price stability for the *Upper Canada Gazette* was maintained through a combination of government support and advertising revenue. Subscribers frequently lacked cash with which to pay for goods and services, and this fact may have dissuaded the printer from increasing prices. In the 13 January 1808 issue the printer placed an advertisement asking for a settling of accounts and expressing a willingness to accept produce from those who did not have cash.

Sales and subscriptions were handled by a system of agents established across the province. By 1820 there were nineteen agents, located from Glengarry County and the towns of Cornwall, Perth, and Kingston in the east, along the shores of Lake Ontario to York, Dundas, and Niagara, and west to Amherstburg. By 1823 distribution included Quebec City, Montreal,

**MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE LATE MAJOR
GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK K B**

THE Commissioners for erecting the Monument voted by the Provincial Legislature, in memory of the late Major General Sir ISAAC BROCK, K. B. give notice that they are ready to receive proposals from any person or persons who may be desirous of contracting to execute the same.

The Monument which is designed to be a Tower of cut-stone fifty feet in height, and sixteen feet in diameter at the base, with a winding stone stair inside, and a vault underneath, is to be erected on Queenston Heights, on a site to be pointed out by the Commissioners, and to be commenced on the first of May next, and completed during the season.

Stone and Lime, of a suitable quality, are abundant within half a mile of the place

A model of the intended Tower may be seen on application to any of the Commissioners, or to John Macaulay, Esq. Kingston.

THOMAS CLARK.	}	<i>Commissioners.</i>
THOMAS DICKSON,		
ROBERT NICHOL,		
Niagara, Nov. 4th, 1823.		6w—46.



Charles Fothergill, printer of the *Upper Canada Gazette*, 1821-1825.

Hawkesbury, Hull, Prescott, Pickering, Whitby, and St. Catharines. There were incentives to increase sales, a notice in 1824 stating,

Any Agent obtaining 3 Subscribers has a paper for himself at half price; - if he obtains 6 he has his own paper gratis; - and for as many as he obtains above 6 he will receive besides his own paper, a Commission of 5 per cent upon the whole amount.³⁰

The space devoted to paid advertising did not vary significantly between 1793 and 1830, averaging one-third to one-half of a page per issue. Advertising rates remained unchanged for most of the *Gazette's* publishing history: two shillings and six pence for six lines and under; five shillings for fourteen lines and under. By contrast, the *Quebec Gazette* charged seven shillings and six pence for ten lines and under.

Robert Horne resigned as King's Printer at the end of 1821, likely as a result of the deteriorating relationship between himself and Lieutenant Governor Maitland.³¹ One of the incorporators of the recently created Bank of Upper Canada, he took a position with the bank. He would stay there for the rest of his life.³²

Charles Fothergill

From 1822 until 1825 the *Upper Canada Gazette* was printed by Charles Fothergill. The most intellectual of all *Gazette* printers, Fothergill was an artist and naturalist, as well as a businessman.³³ Under his tenure the paper retained its two-section format: the first section contained government proclamations, notices, speeches, advertisements, and announcements of sheriffs' sales, and the second section, named the *Weekly Register*, contained the news (foreign and domestic), essays, letters, poems, and the debates of the Assembly.

Fothergill brought to Upper Canada an appreciation for natural history and literature hitherto unknown in a country more concerned with encouraging immigration and settlement and with establishing commercial and manufacturing enterprises. The *Weekly Register* reflected Fothergill's varied interests and pursuits. Not content with simply extracting news from foreign and domestic papers, Fothergill filled his pages with essays on arts, science,

and natural history that often reflected his own interests. Like other government printers he also published books, among them Sir John Hawles's *The Canadian's Right* (1823), *The Canadian Farmer's Almanac* for 1824 and 1825, and *The York Almanac and Royal Calendar of Upper Canada* for the years 1823-25. Fothergill encouraged local writers, and in 1825 he printed a long poem, *Wonders of the West, or a Day at the Falls of Niagara*, by schoolteacher James Lynne Alexander.³⁴

The *Weekly Register's* columns began with "Editorial Commentary," followed by foreign news, essays, domestic news, letters, and reports of the debates. "Editorial Commentary" contained a synopsis of news from foreign newspapers, then commentary on domestic or local events. News that found its way into the *Weekly Register* was carefully reviewed by Fothergill. On 18 April 1822 he reported that the latest papers included the King's speech at the opening of the British parliament, among other news, yet little that appeared in these papers was worthy of reprinting because the stories lacked "that extraordinary and decisive character which at once arrests attention, and agitates the mind with all those conflicting emotions which seem to be inseparable for political inquiry."

The first independent paper in York, the *Observer*, was started by John Carey in 1820 after he had given up reporting the debates of the House of Assembly for the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Carey published the *Observer* for eleven years, and like William Lyon Mackenzie in the *Colonial Advocate* (founded 1824) and Francis Collins in the *Canadian Freeman* (established 1825), he publicly criticized the conservative élite. The attacks of these journalists left the government little choice but to respond, which it did through the pages of the *Gazette*. The editorial comments in the press are significant because they offer insight into the issues of the day and reveal the opinions of the *Gazette's* printers and the government. The barbs exchanged between the government-supported press and the free press were scathing, to say the least. In response to one of Carey's attacks, Fothergill countered in the *Weekly Register* for 2 May 1822,

We do not wish to deal in personal and low invective, and we shall endeavour to avoid it as much as possible, and we think the OBSERVER would do much better were he to attempt the task of pointing out any fallacy in our arguments, instead of mounting his dung hill and scattering his filth in every direction.

NOT OFFICIAL.

NOTICE.

A MEETING of the Stockholders of the Welland Canal Company was called on the first day of May next, in the Town of Niagara, for the purpose of choosing Directors,—as the Communication did not reach all the papers within the Province in-time to give full thirty days notice as required by the Act.

The said Meeting is unavoidably postponed until the fifteenth of May,—on which day the Stockholders will attend at the House of Mr. Rogers, at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of appointing Directors to the said Company.

(SIGNED) Wm. HAMILTON MERRIT.
One of the Subscribers.

NOTICE.

MR. SAMUEL CLEWS, Civil Engineer, is now levelling and laying out the Line of the Welland Canal, to unite Lakes Erie and Ontario, in the Niagara District.—Any Person desirous of becoming a Contractor for any part of the Work, will call, examine the Route, and make proposals to the Company, on the 15th day of May next, as the whole will be put under Contract shortly after that period.

WM. HAMILTON MERRITT,
17-3w. AGENT.

Provincial Parliament.

JOURNALS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

FRIDAY, 19th Dec. 1823.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Intestate Estate Bill was read the second time.

On motion of Mr. WILLSON of Wentworth, that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the Intestate Estate Bill, the House divided.

YEAS.—Messrs. Jones of Leeds, Gordon, Willson of Wentworth, Randall, Hamilton of Wentworth, Wilmot, Walsh, White, Pattie, Clark, Casey, McDonell, Wilson of Prince Edward, and Morris.—14.

NAYS.—Messrs. McMartin, Jones of Grenville, Burwell, McLean of Stormont, Shaver, and Bostwick.—6.

Question gained—Majority, 8, and Mr PALLIE was called to the Chair of the Committee.

The Chairman reported progress, and asked leave to sit again that day three months.

On the question for receiving the Report, the House divided.

YEAS.—Messrs. Gordon, Burwell, Nichol, Hagerman, McDonnell, Baldwin, Hamilton of Lincoln, Rutten, Kerr, McMartin, Jones of Grenville, McLean of Stormont, Attorney General, Morris, Shaver, and Bostwick.—16.

NAYS.—Messrs. Jones of Leeds, Willson of Wentworth, Clark, Hamilton of Wentworth, Wilmot, Walsh, White, Babby, Hornor, Randall, Pattie, Casey, Chisholm, Wilson of Prince Edward, and Crooks.—15.

The question was carried in the affirmative—Majority, 1. The Report was received, and leave granted.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Midland District Loan Bill was read the second time.

On motion of Mr. HAGERMAN, the House went into Committee on the Bill.

The Chairman reported the Bill as amended.

On the question for receiving the Report the House divided.

YEAS.—Messrs. Burwell, Nichol, Hagerman, McMartin, Rutten, McDonnell, Jones of Grenville, Attorney General, Kerr, Chisholm, Morris, Shaver, Bostwick, and Crooks.—14.

NAYS.—Messrs. Clark, Hamilton of Wentworth, Wilmot, Walsh, White, Hornor, Pattie, Casey, and Wilson of Prince Edward.—9.

The question gained—Majority, 5, and the Report was accordingly received.

On motion of Mr. HAGERMAN, the Midland District Loan Bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time on the morrow.

Agreeably to notice, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved for leave to bring in a Bill for continuing an Act, passed in the fifty ninth year of His late Majesty's Reign, relative to Rates and Assessments, and to make provision for levying the said rates under certain restrictions, by sale of the Lands charged with the same.

On the question of leave, the House divided.

YEAS.—Messrs. Hagerman, Jones of Leeds, Burwell, Gordon, McMartin, Willson of Wentworth, Hamilton of Wentworth, Rutten, Wilmot, White, Clark, Pattie, Randall, Hornor, Casey, Hamilton of Lincoln, McLean of Stormont, Attorney General, Jones of Grenville, Kerr, Chisholm, Wilson of Prince Edward, Crooks, Morris, Shaver, and Bostwick.—26.

NAYS.—Messrs. Nichol, Baldwin, Walsh, and McDonell.—4.

Question gained—Majority, 22, and the Bill was read the first time.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL moved that the Assessment Bill should be read a second time to-morrow.

In amendment, Mr. NICHOL moved that in the Original Motion, the word "to-morrow" should be expunged, and the words "this day three months" inserted.

Which was lost.

The original question was then put and carried.

The House adjourned till Monday.

The exchanges continued for several weeks until on 20 June Fothergill's exasperation with Carey peaked:

It seems to be impossible for the Observer to turn from the "*evil of his ways*" - he must continue *to lie*, in spite of the numerous floggings he receives ... It seems to be impossible for him to exist without abusing some one or another; and to promulgate falsehood seems to be his delight!!!

Early in his term as printer Fothergill supported the government and defended it from attacks by the independent press. However, in the 1824 election he ran as an opposition candidate for Durham and was defeated under suspicious circumstances, according to reports in his *Weekly Register*. On 29 July the results of the election were printed: Fothergill and George Strange Boulton had each received 148 votes, Samuel Street Wilmot 19 votes, and a Mr. Orton none. On 5 August Fothergill reported angrily in the *Weekly Register* that the returning officer "on his own responsibility struck off four of Mr. F's voters - and returned Mr. Boulton as duly elected." However, the Assembly ordered a new election for March 1825, which Fothergill won.³⁵ He retained his position as King's Printer but used the *Gazette* to express his political views, which were increasingly at odds with the government. In 1825 Lieutenant Governor Maitland dismissed him as King's Printer for voting against the government in the House.³⁶

Following his dismissal, Fothergill remained in Upper Canada. Defeated in the 1830 election, he helped form the Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada the following year. In 1834 he merged the *Canadian Correspondent*, a paper he had helped to found in 1832, with the *Colonial Advocate*, which had been his political foe while he was government printer. Fothergill's ambitions seem to have been greater than his business acumen. In 1837 he purchased the conservative *Courier of Upper Canada* and established the *Palladium of British America, and Upper Canada Mercantile Advertiser*, liquidating a great deal of his property to do so. The *Palladium* supported commerce, but politically it moved from being "the most outspoken voice of opposition in Toronto"³⁷ to a more conservative position.³⁸ The paper failed two years after it was founded, and Fothergill died penniless in 1840.³⁹

Robert Stanton

Fothergill's successor, Robert Stanton, was not a trained printer, but he was loyal to the establishment. He had held government positions long before being appointed editor of the *Gazette*. He had worked in the office of the Lieutenant Governor, in the Surveyor General's office, and for the Assembly, and had served as an officer in the militia during the War of 1812. After the war, he moved to Kingston, where he owned a hardware store. He was elected assessor and commissioned magistrate in 1821 and notary public in 1823.⁴⁰ Appointed King's Printer in 1826, he held the position until 1844; his tenure was the longest for any printer of the *Upper Canada Gazette*.

Six months after he assumed his duties, Stanton began the *U.E. Loyalist*, which resembled the *York Weekly Post* and the *Weekly Register*. It was distributed with the *Upper Canada Gazette* from 3 June 1826 to 24 May 1828, and for a year after that it was printed as a separate paper called the *Loyalist*. Stanton did not change the layout of the *Gazette* radically from that used by Fothergill. It still covered government business, while the *U.E. Loyalist's* departments consisted of poetry, essays, and reports (usually a full page), news from England and other countries, events in Lower Canada, domestic and local news, letters to the editor, and the debates. Since Stanton apparently did not have the same interests as Fothergill, articles on science and natural history appeared only occasionally.

The problems of paper supply that had plagued printers since the early days were finally resolved in the mid-1820s when paper mills were established in Upper Canada. On 2 September 1826 the *Upper Canada Gazette* was printed for the first time on paper made in the province, from the mill of James Crooks of Flamborough West.

We have much pleasure in presenting our patrons this number of our paper, on a sheet, the manufacture of Upper Canada, which we trust they will find on examination, not to be inferior in any respect, to that, which we have heretofore offered them, and in the selection of which we took some pains. This specimen of the manufacture of our enterprising friend James Crooks, Esq. of Flamborough West, from whom we have received our supply, is such, as we have no doubt will insure to him that patronage which his exertions so justly merit.⁴¹

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

Friday, Dec. 29, 1826.

THE INTESTATE BILL was read a third time, passed and sent to the Legislative Council.

A MESSAGE was received from the Legislative Council, acquainting the House that they had concurred in the *Street Surveyor's Bill*.

THE WHIPPING AND PILLORY ABOLITION BILL was read a third time, and sent to the Legislative Council.

Sundry Petitions were brought up and read.

Mr. *Rolph* moved an Address to His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, praying for information respecting the agreement between His Majesty's Government, and the Canada Land Company, and other information connected with the subject.--Carried. Adjourned.

Saturday, Dec. 30.

Sundry Petitions were brought up.

Major Hillier delivered a Message from His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, with a Report made by the Engineer Mr. Clowes of a Survey of the River St. Lawrence.

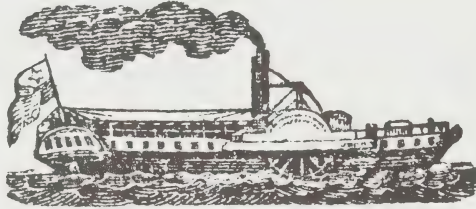
On motion made by Mr. *J. Jones*, 500 Copies were ordered to be printed.

THE MILL DAM BILL—2d Reading.

The Bill was reported and leave given to sit again.

The *Attorney General* gave notice that he should move the House to resolve into a Committee of the whole on Supply on Tuesday next. Adjourned to Tuesday.

LAKE ONTARIO



STEAM BOAT NOTICE.

THE PUBLIC are informed that the Steam Boat QUEENSTON, Captain J. WHITNEY, has commenced making her regular trips, and will, during the Summer, leave the different Ports as follows :

Leave Niagara for Kingston, Brockville, and Prescott, every Thursday morning at 8 o'clock precisely—And leave Prescott, on her return, for Brockville, Kingston, and York, every Sunday at 12 o'clock, noon.

Arrangements have been made with Messrs. Norton & Co. Stage Proprietors, Prescott, by which, Passengers going down will arrive in Montreal on Saturday evening; and Passengers proceeding upwards, will, by leaving Montreal on Saturday morning, arrive at Prescott in time to take the Boat.

Every endeavor has been made to render the accommodations and fare on board of the best description.

Queenston, May 25, 1827. 1-tf.

While Stanton's predecessors had differed with the government regarding the content of the *Gazette* (usually resulting in their dismissal), Stanton's conflict was with the editors of the free press in York, notably Mackenzie in the *Colonial Advocate* and Collins in the *Canadian Freeman*. Stanton never wavered in his support of the government. In the years he printed the *U.E. Loyalist* and the *Loyalist*, hardly an issue appeared in which he did not defend the government's position on such issues of the time as the tea trade, the Naturalization Bill, and Mackenzie's assertion that the government had been involved in damaging the *Colonial Advocate's* press and type. On ties with Britain, Stanton wrote on 9 June 1827,

The cause of all this wrath [by the *Canadian Freeman*] (which vents itself as usual, in railing, and calling hard names) is, that we are not ashamed to avow, that, in conducting our Journal, we are actuated by loyal principles, and a desire to strengthen the bonds of attachment to the Mother Country. This being the very opposite of that conduct, which is persued by this *Freeman*, he works himself into a phrenzy, and says that we deserve no credit for our professions.

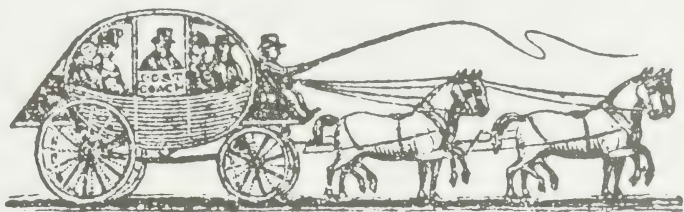
Letters to the editor that criticized the free press were often printed in the *Upper Canada Gazette*. Stanton published, in three parts, the statement by the young Tories who had been charged with the destruction of Mackenzie's press. Their statement, which appeared in the *U.E. Loyalist* on 1, 8, and 15 March 1828, made clear their opinion of Mackenzie and their views on the £625 settlement awarded him for a press they appraised at not more than £50.

By 1829, however, Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne felt that editorial comment was not a role for the government printer,⁴² and he restricted Stanton's duties to publishing government business. No longer permitted to print non-government material, Stanton stopped issuing the *Loyalist*,⁴³ thus ending the *Upper Canada Gazette's* contributions as a community paper. From this point the free press took over entirely the role of supplying readers with news, essays, editorial comment, and advertising. By now the free press was firmly established in Upper Canada. Kingston, Brockville, York, St. Catharines, and Niagara each had at least one newspaper. They reported the news and events more extensively than the *Upper Canada Gazette*, had greater local appeal, and attracted more advertisers.

The Declining Years

With the union of the Canadas in 1841, the *Canada Gazette* replaced the *Upper Canada Gazette* as the official government newspaper. The *Upper Canada Gazette*, however, continued to be printed "by authority" until the late 1840s. Stanton would have been appointed Queen's Printer for the Province of Canada but for the sudden death of Governor Lord Sydenham in 1841. Lord Stanley, the British Colonial Secretary, did not feel obliged to honour Sydenham's promises, so Stanton was relieved of his duties as government printer. He was appointed collector of customs for Toronto in 1843.⁴⁴ The last issue of the *Gazette* to carry Stanton's name appeared on 12 September 1844, eighteen years after he had been appointed "Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." Richard Watson, his foreman, printed the *Gazette* until 1848 or 1849. He died in the great Toronto fire of 7 April 1849 while trying to save type from the printing office.⁴⁵ The paper was not revived.

The *Upper Canada Gazette* was published for over fifty years. Through the course of its publishing history, Upper Canada grew from a province with a small scattered population to one with over 732,000 inhabitants.⁴⁶ As the population grew, the province's economy developed and its social and political institutions evolved. It had begun with an agrarian-based economy and developed commercial, manufacturing, and banking enterprises. Much of the social and commercial development of Upper Canada can be traced through the *Gazette*'s advertisements and notices: the abolition of slavery, the establishment of schools in all the districts, the construction of the Welland and Rideau canals, and the founding of Bytown (now Ottawa). Transportation notices record steamboat ferry service between Niagara, York, and Kingston, inaugurated in 1817, and overland stage service. The *Gazette* reported the establishment of breweries, saw and grist mills, and linen and woolen mills, the development and growth during the 1820s of manufacturing industries, and the founding of the Bank of Upper Canada. In the same period Upper Canada moved politically from a society dominated by the élite known as the Family Compact through reform and rebellion to unification with Lower Canada. For both government announcements and local news, the *Upper Canada Gazette* is a valuable primary source of information on the social, economic, and political evolution of Upper Canada.



NEW ESTABLISHMENT,—to commence **FIRST DECEMBER, 1827**, between **KINGSTON** and **YORK**. Leaves Kingston and York on Mondays and Thursdays at 12 o'clock, noon, precisely, & arrives on Wednesdays and Saturdays, A. M.

Stage Fare through, £2 10. Intermediate distances, three pence half penny per mile. 30 lbs. baggage allowed each passenger, extra baggage, 200 lbs. equal to a passenger. All baggage at the risque of the owner.

Stage Books kept at *Howard's Hotel, York*, and at the *Mansion House Hotel, Kingston*.—*Extras furnished at either of the above places for any part of the Country.*

The Proprietors of this line, flatter themselves that they will be able to give satisfaction to such as may feel disposed to patronize them.

H. NORTON, & Co., Kingston.

J. OGDEN, York.

November, 21st, 1827.

27-3m.

Appendix I

Printers of the *Upper Canada Gazette*

Louis Roy	1793 - 1794
Gideon Tiffany	1794 - 1797 (with Silvester Tiffany as assistant from 1796)
Titus Geer Simons	1797 - 1801 (with William Waters 1798 - 1801)
John Bennett	1801 - 1807
John Cameron	1807 - 1815
Edward William McBride	1815 - 1816 (A. Mercer printed at least one issue in 1816)
Robert Charles Horne	1817 - 1821
Charles Fothergill	1822 - 1825
Robert Stanton	1826 - 1844
Richard Watson	1844 - 1849

Appendix II

Significant Dates in the History of the *Upper Canada Gazette*

- 1792 John Graves Simcoe hires Louis Roy to become the first printer in Upper Canada.
- 1793 18 April: first issue of the weekly *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle*.
- 1794 Louis Roy resigns; he is replaced by Gideon Tiffany.
- 1796 Tiffany's brother Silvester is hired as assistant printer.
- 1797 Gideon Tiffany is forced to resign; Titus Geer Simons becomes government printer.
- 1798 William Waters is hired to assist Simons. *Upper Canada Gazette* is transferred to York from Niagara.
- 1801 John Bennett is hired as government printer.
- 1807 John Cameron changes name of *Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oracle* to *York Gazette*.
- 1813-1814 *Gazette* suspended when the press is damaged by the Americans during occupation of York.
- 1815 Edward W. McBride assumes duties of printer after Cameron's death.
- 1817 Robert Charles Home becomes printer; reinstates original name but drops "*or American Oracle*"; issues a second section called *York Weekly Post*.
- 1822 Charles Fothergill becomes printer; changes title of second section to *Weekly Register*.

The Upper Canada Gazette

- 1826 Robert Stanton appointed printer; issues second section of *Gazette* called *U.E. Loyalist*.
- 1841 *Upper Canada Gazette* loses official status because of union of the Canadas but continues to be printed "by authority."
- 1844 Stanton loses position as Queen's Printer; his foreman, Richard Watson, assumes duties as printer of *Gazette*.
- 1849 Richard Watson dies in fire; *Upper Canada Gazette* is not revived.

Notes

1. McArthur, "Upper Canada, 1791-1812," 172-3.
2. McCalla, "The Loyalist Economy of Upper Canada, 1784-1806," 283.
3. Letter from John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, 12 August 1791, in Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 1: 43, 48.
4. Colgate, "Louis Roy," 123.
5. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto*, 6: 206-7.
6. Ibid., 207.
7. Fauteux, *The Introduction of Printing into Canada*, 122.
8. Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades: 1798-1900*, xv-xvi.
9. Colgate, "Louis Roy," 131.
10. *Upper Canada Gazette*, 18 April 1793.
11. Ibid.
12. Lochhead, "Silvester Tiffany," 815.
13. Brock, "Gideon Tiffany," 887.
14. Lochhead, "Silvester Tiffany," 815.
15. Letter from E.B. Littlehales to William [Gideon] Tiffany, April 1795, in Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 3: 346.
16. Letter from E.B. Littlehales to Gideon Tiffany, 15 February 1796, in Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 4: 196.

The Upper Canada Gazette

17. Archives of Ontario, RG22 Series 134 v.1, 17 (Upper Canada, Court of King's Bench, Assizes Minute Book - Civil, 1795-1804; RG22 125 v.1, 51-2, 55-6 (Upper Canada, Court of King's Bench, Term Book, 1794-1806).
18. Minutes of the Executive Council, Council's Chamber at York, 25th April 1798, in Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell*, 2: 144.
19. *Upper Canada Gazette*, 4 November 1797.
20. Letter from John Elmsley to the Honourable David William Smith, Speaker of the Lower House, 25 February 1798, in Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell*, 2: 104.
21. Fauteux, *The Introduction of Printing into Canada*, 128.
22. "William Allan," 4-13.
23. Fauteux, *The Introduction of Printing into Canada*, 133-5.
24. Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900*, 42-3.
25. Province of Upper Canada, "Journals of the House of Assembly," in *Ninth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, 542-3.
26. Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, 1: 40.
27. Province of Upper Canada, "Journals of the House of Assembly," in *Tenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, 289.
28. *Ibid.*, 317-8.
29. Roland, "Robert Charles Horne," 417-8.
30. *Upper Canada Gazette*, 8 January 1824.
31. Roland, "Robert Charles Horne," 417-8.
32. *Ibid.*, 418.
33. Romney, "Charles Fothergill," 317-8.

34. Baillie, "Charles Fothergill, 1782-1840," 383.
35. Forman, *Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario 1792-1991*, 1: 55.
36. Bowsfield, "Sir Peregrine Maitland," 596-604.
37. Firth, *Early Toronto Newspapers, 1793-1867*, 13.
38. Romney, "Charles Fothergill," 317-21.
39. Ibid., 320.
40. Neary, "Robert Stanton," 740-1.
41. *U.E. Loyalist*, 2 September 1826.
42. Neary, "Robert Stanton," 741.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Hulse, *A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900*, 275.
46. *First Report of the Secretary of the Board of Registration and Statistics, on the Census of the Canadas, for 1851-1852*, xv.

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Index

- Advertising, 3, 5, 7, 10, 14, 17, 21
 Alexander, James Lynne, 18
 Allan, William, 12
- Bank of Upper Canada, 17, 22
 Bennett, John, 3, 12-3
 Boulton, George Strange, 19
 Brown, William, 4
- Cameron, John, 3, 13-5
 Campaign literature, 12
Canada Constellation, 9, 16
Canada Gazette, 22
Canadian Correspondent, 19
Canadian Freeman, 18, 21
 Carey, John, 15, 18-9
 Cobbett, William, 15
 Colborne, Sir John, 21
 Collins, Francis, 15-6, 18, 21
Colonial Advocate, 18, 19, 21
 Community paper: *Gazette* as, 2, 21
Courier of Upper Canada, 19
 Crooks, James, 20
- Debates: reporting of, 15-6
 Distribution, 6, 16-7
- Elections. *See* Campaign literature
 Elmsley, John, 11
 Executive Council: and the *Gazette*, 9, 11
- Format, 2, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14
 Fothergill, Charles, 3, 17-9, 20
 Free (independent) press, 2, 9, 18-9, 21
- Government business: carried in the *Gazette*, 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9-10, 16, 17, 20
- Halifax Gazette*, 2, 3
- Horne, Robert Charles, 3, 15-7
 Hunter, Peter, 9, 11
- Illustrations, 3
- Layout. *See* Format
 Letters to the editor, 8, 14
 Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada, 19
 Literary material, 7, 12, 17, 18, 20
 Littlehales, Sir Edward Baker, 8, 9
London Gazette, 2
Loyalist, 16, 20, 21
 Loyalty: of printers to the government, 3, 8, 9, 21
- McBride, Edward William, 15
 MacDonell, Angus, 12
 Mackenzie, William Lyon, 18, 21
 Maitland, Sir Peregrine, 15, 16, 17, 19
 Mesplet, Fleury, 4
Montreal Gazette, 7
- Napoleonic Wars: and the *Gazette*, 14
 Neilson, Samuel, 4, 5, 12
 Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake): *Gazette* published at, 1, 11
 News: American, 2, 7, 10; international, 2, 5, 10, 14, 18; local, 2, 5, 6, 10, 21
 Newspapers: in British North America, 2
Niagara Herald, 9
 Non-government material, 1-2, 3, 8, 16, 21
- Observer*, 18-9
Palladium of British America, 19
 Paper, 4, 9, 14, 20
 Postal service: and the *Gazette*, 10

The Upper Canada Gazette

Printing office: importance of, 1
Printing press, 5, 15

Quebec Gazette, 2, 3, 4, 16, 17

Roy, Louis, 3, 4-7, 12
Russell, Peter, 9

Simcoe, John Graves, 1-2, 4, 5, 8, 9
Simons, Titus Geer, 3, 9-12
Size. *See* Format
Stanley, Baron, 22
Stanton, Robert, 3, 20-2
Statutes: printing of, 4, 13, 15
Stuart, George Okill, 13
Subscription rates, 6, 16
Sydenham, Baron, 22

Tiffany, Gideon, 7-9, 11
Tiffany, Silvester, 7-9, 11
Type, 2, 4, 7, 11

U.E. Loyalist, 20, 21
Upper Canada: economy, 13, 14, 22;
population, 1, 22

War of 1812: and the *Gazette*, 5, 14-5
Waters, William, 11-2
Watson, Richard, 3, 22
Weekes, William, 12
Weekly Register, 17, 18
Wilmot, Samuel Street, 19

York (Toronto): *Gazette* moved to,
11; occupation of, 5, 15
York Gazette, 13, 15
York Weekly Post, 16

